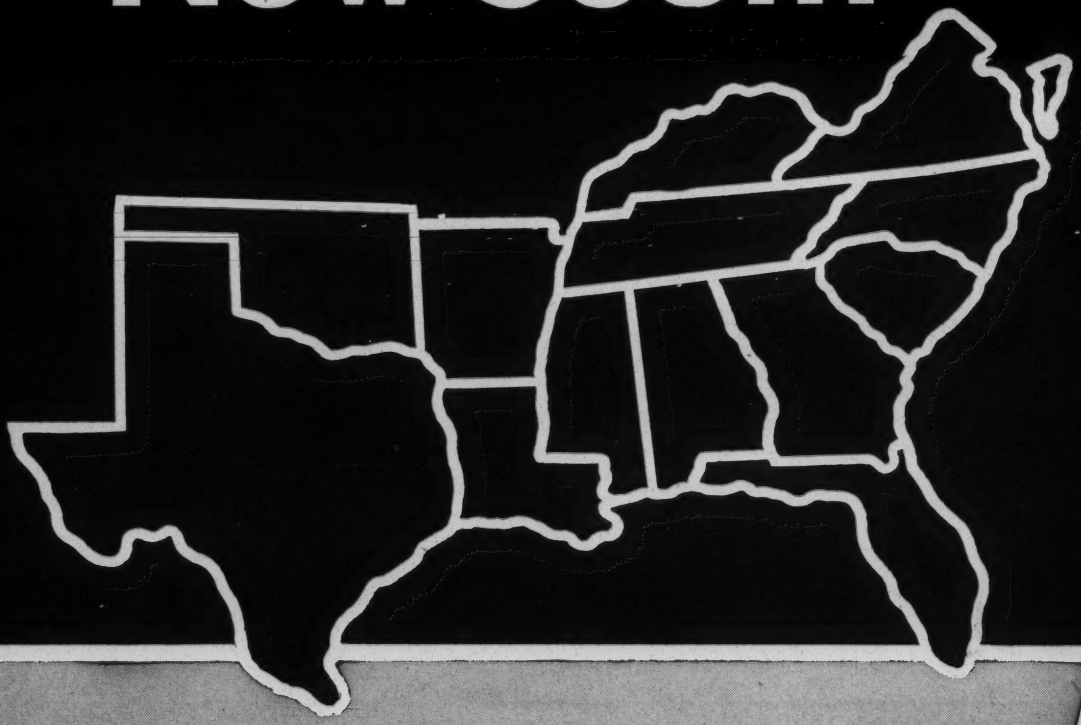
New South



- **South's Alternatives**
- **Luxury We Cannot Afford**
  Howard K. Smith
- **The Face of the South**
  Ralph McGill

New South

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New South Notes

With the Little Rock crisis settling somewhat, the South should stop and take account of itself and its program for the future. No longer can Southern ctizens delude themselves into believing that the Supreme Court decision can be illegally circumvented. And it is foolish for Southerners to cling to the hope that the High Court's decision will be overturned at all.

In light of this, *New South's* lead article outlines the two alternatives for the South today. These two alternatives are obey the law or close the public school entirely.

New South also offers a penetrating analysis of the Little Rock situation against a background of national and world events. This analysis is a broadcast by Howard K. Smith and is reprinted here by permission of the Columbia Boardcasting System.

In one of his articles in the *Atlanta Constitution*, Editor Ralph McGill outlines the issues involved in the Little Rock crisis. This column is aptly titled "The Face of the South."

Church leaders in Little Rock have rallied strongly in support of law and order and for the brotherhood of man. *New South* is pleased to present resolutions by a group of Little Rock ministers and by the Council of Church Women of Little Rock and North Little Rock. Also included is a resolution representing Baptist youth from 14 Arkansas colleges.

Taken as a whole, this issue is a strong argument for those persons in the South who call for the recognition of equality of man and the observance of law and order.

South's Alternatives: Obey Law, Close Schools

Observe law and order or suffer the consequence of force—that is the lesson most apparent in the Little Rock situation.

It now behooves Southern politicians and leaders to tell deep South citizens the truth about the desegregation movement. The South has only two ultimate choices, either to obey the law peacefully or to close public schools entirely.

It has been easier in the border states for citizens to make the right choice because state leaders in these areas have made it clear that schools, if they are to remain open, must be operated under a system which does not legally discriminate against anyone because of color.

As tragic as the Little Rock situation is, some positive elements have emerged. Not the least of these is the indication that the Federal Government now has shown determination that the law of the land cannot indefinitely be ignored by mob elements. The Little Rock situation has emphasized that national leaders believe in patience, but it also points up that firmness must be and will be employed when state leaders cannot or will not observe the law and keep order.

Little Rock is the proverbial handwriting on the wall for such deep South states as Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana. If chaos is not to result in these states, leaders must begin to convince citizens that a beginning must be made toward complying with the decision.

Southerners should also be told that complete chaos need not result if a start toward desegregation is begun. This is clearly demonstrated in North Carolina this year where three cities—Winston-Salem, Greensboro, and Charlotte — began limited desegregation. Little organized protest developed and the little that did was handled effectively by local authorities.

Reed Sarratt, Executive Editor of the Winston-Salem *Journal and Sentinel*, in a recent speech pointed out that Southern leaders are self-defeating in the present situation. The three chief aims of Southern propaganda, Mr. Sarratt said, are:

(1) To preserve segregation.
(2) To preserve public schools and to keep them segregated.
(3) To preserve the maximum degree of good will between the whites and Negroes.

Tactics of Southern officials are

Alternatives

(Continued)

causing the exact reverse of all of these aims, Mr. Sarratt asserted. The North Carolina editor said the South must realize that the Supreme Court decision *is* the law.

No amount of propagandizing by state officials will change the fact that the Supreme Court decision will eventually be put into effect. The ultimate effect of the propaganda is only to convince Southern whites that segregation will remain intact, and each new breakthrough comes as another rude shock to the citizenry.

Few persons outside the rapidly disintegrating "solid," white South believe that segregation, even in the hard core states, can be maintained indefinitely. This also is true of the state leaders and leaders in the resistance groups to a large extent. Off the record, these leaders already admit that their tactics are only delaying ones at best.

Propaganda

Why then the continuing propagandizing rather than a recognition of reality? In most cases, the propaganda is used for individual benefits rather than with an eye toward the future of the South as a whole.

Evenutally all public schools in the United States will be operated on a democratic basis regardless of state laws of a hampering nature. The question now is, how much will the South lose through its defiance?

The industrial director of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce has been quoted as saying that Little Rock's integration dispute "is going to set our industrial program back considerably."

"Now — and for the unpredictable future—," Mr. Everett Tucker, Jr., said recently, "whenever the subject comes to mind of an industry planning a Southern plant, it will immediately think of Little Rock as a 'hotbed' of segregation, which is not true at all."

Other Spheres

Economy is not the only aspect of Southern life that is beginning to suffer from the integration struggle. The educational, social, civic, and religious spheres also suffer.

It is past time for the "moderates" to be heard on the question of integration since it has become a question of maintaining law and order. Only through maintaining law and order can the South hope to continue its recent giant steps of educational and economic progress.

If the South can be made to realize the inevitability of burying our segregation laws, then the future of the region again will glow brightly.

As President Eisehower said recently, "Powers of a state governor may not be used to defeat a valid order of a federal court.

"The governors of the respective states have the primary responsibility for maintaining domestic order. However, under a pretext of maintaining order, a governor may not interpose military force or permit mob violence to occur so as to prevent the final order of a federal court from being carried out.

"When an obstruction of justice has been interposed or mob violence is permitted to exist so that it is impracticable to enforce the laws by the ordinary

course of judicial proceedings, the obligations of the President under the Constitution and laws are inescapable. He is obliged to use whatever means may be required by the particular situation."

This picture is clearly defined and inescapable. The Supreme Court school decision unless legally overturned will eventually be implemented.

Lee Ward, Judge of the Twelfth Chancery District, Paragould, Arkansas, recently defined the alternatives rather clearly. Judge Ward wrote:

"We in the South must now face up to a cold, hard fact. We are part of the United States of America—one nation, indivisible. The majority of the people who make up this indivisible nation believe that the Supreme Court's decision on integration is fair, just and reasonable. They have made it abundantly clear, through their elected national representatives, that this decision will be neither nullified nor modified by legislative action.

Due Processes

"The due processes guaranteed to a free people have been made available to the people of the South—and we have used those processes. But we have lost the battle for national public opinion.

"We come now to an hour in our history when we must stop and take inventory of our beliefs. . . . We must decide whether we do, in fact, believe in the principle of majority rule for our nation.

"Days are bright and skies are blue when you're on top and winning. But the going gets rough when you find yourself to be part of just another minority group which has been outvoted. The South has lost its battle against integration on every national democratic front.

"Now — in this hour of defeat and travail — just how much do we believe in government of our nation through democratic processes? How strongly do we believe that under the American way of life every man must respect law and order?

Measure

"Are we going to repudiate and disown our nation?

"Shall we abandon democratic processes in our national government just so we can retain segregation?

"Shall we, once again, undertake to withdraw the Southland from the Union and create a new nation where segregation can be the law of the land?

"What is the deep-down, underlying, fundamental principle which we are willing to accept as the guiding light and spirit of all governmental decisions?

"Is it democracy?

"Is it segregation?

"The United States of America has given us an expression of its collective national conscience the ultimatum that racial segregation is wrong. . . . Who has the right to say that integration is not now the law of the land?

"What will be the measure of our citizenship? We suggest again . . . that obedience to the law is the essence of freedom."

And again, Reed Sarratt properly summed up the situation for the entire South when he said, "Damage is going to be greater where we insist on being forced by bayonets to keep a few Negroes in a school."

Luxury We Cannot Afford*

By Howard K. Smith, *CBS Commentator*

This week as one of my first assignments in the United States I was sent to Little Rock. I can think of nothing original to say about the events there, except possibly that I saw them through a slightly different frame of experience from that of most other reporters who were there. And that leads to a rather different conclusion, a somewhat more hopeful conclusion.

For one thing, I am a southerner. Ninety-nine percent of the time I have spent in the United States has been lived below, far below, the Mason-Dixon Line. The place where the troubles occurred is very near to native soil. I was born in north Louisiana and spent all my boyhood between towns there and in southern Arkansas.

So I was returning after 20 years to an area and to an atmosphere that was familiar, but I was able to notice change more clearly than those to whom it has come gradually.

The rest of my frame of experience consists in the fact that the intervening 20 years has been spent watching and reporting on troubles in other places, mobs in the Arab world, social troubles in Europe, the dictatorships in Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, and occupied France which some politicians have compared the federal action in Arkansas to, racial frictions in Africa, and many other things.

The resultant impression of Little Rock, seen through eyes thus conditioned, is that where I went there on Tuesday full of gloom and dread at the ugly development, I have come back reasonably relieved and even fairly hopeful about the outcome of the whole problem of race relations in the south.

The Mob—the many-headed monster—is a hideous apparition no matter where it crawls out from under a rock. But it was quickly clear that the mob that struck in Little Rock on Monday, compared with the huge poisonous serpents I have seen in the Middle East, was a piddling affair, enjoying no sympathy, only abhorrence, from the people of Litttle Rock. There were about a thousand people out on the street around Central High School. Only a couple of hundred took active part in what happened. That is too many; but it is well to keep a vital proportion in mind. There are 200 thousand people in greater Little Rock. Very few reports have brought out the point that the other 199 thousand citizens of that friendly and hospitable city were having none of it.

Little Rock in every way was a curious place for this trouble to happen. Arkansas has already peaceably carried out much integration. Little Rock has almost never suffered serious racial frictions. In general the city's social morals are probably above the national average.

All of this only serves to deepen the guilt of those who let the troubles happen. All that was called for was a little organized firmness. When that was sup-

**CBS Broadcast, September 29, 1957*

plied, when the 101st Airborne Division arrived in Little Rock, even before it went into action, calm settled down on the city. The incidents, white raids into the Negro sections of town, the alleged attacks by Negroes on whites that had disturbed the previous night ceased to happen.

The next day, when the 101st was in action around the school building, a few toughs tried its mettle, but were swept up and thrown in jail so fast and so uncompromisingly that not even the intention of beginning trouble was permitted to germinate in any by-standers's mind. There was no trouble of consequence; there has been none since; the white students of Central High have been returning to school in increasing numbers and seem increasingly unconcerned that nine Negro students have come among them.

The President's action in sending in the troops was a hard decision for him to make. I must say that alongside with relief at seeing enforcement of the law, I felt a certain uneasiness at seeing steel-helmeted troops with mounted bayonets in action in American streets.

However that action has been blown up into utterly fantastic proportions in the overstated oratory of some southern politicians. Senator Talmadge and Senator Russell of Georgia have both compared this with the Russian invasion of Hungary last fall. Governor Faubus of Arkansas in a television talk called Arkansas an occupied territory, like German-occupied France during the war. A lawyer, called by a southern paper "an acknowledged constitutional expert" of whom I have never heard told that paper that the precedents for President Eisenhower's action existed, but they were to be found not in American history but in that of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

The most charitable comment that these statements prompt is that they reveal an appalling ignorance of what went on behind the Iron Curtain last fall when I was there, and of life as it was lived in occupied France where I was too, and of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy where I spent many years.

The people of Arkansas are not being starved into submission. They have a perfect right of free speech which Governor Faubus exercised the other night to make a television talk which many considered to be an incitement to violence. Except for the immediate neighborhood of the school building, their right of assembly and protest are unimpaired. Come elections they can vote freely to confirm or change their government. Where many thousands have been innocently executed in Hungary, and the numbers run into fantastic millions for Russia and Germany, not much more than a dozen people were detained in Little Rock and most of them appear to have been released immediately.

In fact, what the President did, he did late; he did it with a reluctance that was obvious, and it was the minimum he could do in the face of a totally unacceptable challenge to law and order, and to the good name of the United States.

Saying this, however, does not mean that the constructive southerners do not have a case to be heeded. There is deeply imbedded in the English-speaking people a healthy abhorrence of

Luxury

(Continued)

standing armies. It began with the experience of Oliver Cromwell who used a standing army to establish a dictatorship, almost against his own will, because the army existed and an emergency occurred. When the American colonies declared independence, the one charge in their declaration that struck a chord of sympathy in England was that George the Third had quartered troops among us. This deep-rooted detestation of men in uniform interfering in any way with civil life is one of the reasons why the English speaking peoples established democracy earlier than others and preserved it better.

So Governor Clements of Tennessee was not guilty of demagoguery when he said this was a dangerous precedent; next time, he said, it might not be a question of civil rights, but a Labor dispute; and the time after that, who knows? That is how freedom dies—when overpowerful instruments of force are available when emergencies break out.

Though the President's action of this week can be argued to be wholly justified, an opinion poll indicated that three-quarters of the American people thought it was—it is none the less healthy that the President should be challenged to prove his case, as the southern governors will challenge him here in Washington on Tuesday, and that he feel every pressure to withdraw them at the earliest possible moment, as the southern governors will so press Mr. Eisenhower at their meeting on Tuesday.

The Little Rock mob was a piddling thing next to those I have seen terrorizing the streets of Arab cities. The President's action can only with childish exaggeration be compared with dictatorships of the recent past and the present. Another high exaggeration is to compare the people of the southern states and the situation that prevails there with South Africa, as some have done.

Apartheid

South Africa is dominated by a government and white people whose policy is segregation with a vengeance, called Apartheid. They are putting it into effect with great sufferings to the black population with unremitting resolve. The United States is dominated by a federal government and a people the policy of the majority of which is for integration, the majority of which are for integration, vigor, as we have seen this week. It is also being done with considerable success. It was interesting to me, standing on a curb in Little Rock this week, reporting that situation, to be handed a newspaper just come from Nashville reporting that—to quote its words—"while rioting ripped Little Rock, 11 Negro children were quietly starting their third week in desegregated schools in Nashville this week."

Similar reports might have been made from many places in the South. In Justifying his course, Governor Faubus of Arkansas in his television talk the other night boasted of how much integration had already been carried out in Arkansas schools, and that he had a son in an integrated college.

Sadly drowned out by the voice of

the mob, at the Southern Governors' conference, Governor Leroy Collins of Florida said, "If the South should wrap itself in a Confederate blanket and consume itself in racial furor, it would surely miss its greatest opportunity for channeling into a wonderful future the products of change now taking place."

As I said earlier, I have, except for brief visits now and then, been out of the South in Europe for 20 years. When I left, Governors were not saying things like that. It would have been political suicide. States were not beginning integration as many have done. Negroes were not voting as many now do.

As America's good friend, the Manchester Guardian said this week, "Race relations in America are the dark side of the moon. But the dark side is thinning. Twenty years ago we would not have heard of riots outside the school at Little Rock because nobody would have conceived of sending Negro children there."

Light Ahead

When I was in South Africa I was profoundly depressed at the prospects ahead. The tunnel got blacker as you looked ahead. A horrible racial explosion seemed, and seems, the only possible conclusion. In the South here, the picture is wholly different. There is a tunnel but it is lighter towards the end. You can see a solution developing. It will take time and patience and much courage. There will be incidents and noises, but, again to quote the Manchester Guardian, the noises will be not unlike the grinding of the wheels of progress.

One strong impression I have is that the public organs of expression are failing at their job of education in this developing social change. Being so near to home, I had many telephone calls and cables from relatives I have not seen for some time. One of them, in Monroe, Louisiana, said to me, we are sitting on a powder keg down here. Things as bad as Little Rock, or worse, might happen.

Explanation

I do not believe that the meaning of integration or indeed the new necessity for it have been fully explained.

It is not the whim of nine allegedly misguided do-gooders on the Supreme Court that is causing this. What is mainly responsible is a direly perilous world situation in which America must prove the moral worth of her civilization, or lose mankind's support and eventually go down to defeat and enslavement.

The peril is made clear by reactions in many places this week. In Russia, Moscow Radio put together overnight a fictionalized story about American Negro children going to school past rows of hanging Negro corpses. (This was broadcast in Russian classrooms by a government in sore need of some diversion from its sins domestic and foreign!) A report from the Middle East said, I quote, "U. S. prestige has suffered even among hitherto friendly Egyptians." In Indonesia a headline said, "This is America: Negroes the targets of Whites."

Another Little Rock is clearly a luxury we cannot afford. My impression coming from Little Rock is that with a minimum of responsibility on the part of local politicians and of prudence and patience on the part of the federal govenment, and we may not have to afford them.

The Face of the South

By Ralph McGill

Editor

Atlanta Constitution

September 12, 1957

There is an old proverb: "Oh, great and wise, be ill at ease when your words and deeds please the mob."

There was a picture of a smiling Gov. Orval Faubus, of Arkansas. Neatly dressed and flawlessly barbered, he was accepting a federal contempt citation in the school issue from an impeccably clad and proper federal marshal.

There were other pictures. They revealed that the Nashville demonstrators, some of whom provided the criminals who dynamited a $500,000 school to ruins, in a typical answer of a mob, where neither smiling nor neat. Most of them, indeed, were not from Nashville. They looked, in their posed pictures, as if they had been dressed for the part by some movie director with extras hired to portray a mob.

The same generalization would describe the demonstrators as depicted by photographs taken in Little Rock and Alabama.

Looking at them, one feels pity and compassion, knowing them to be the pawns of agitators and ignorance. But one feels strongly that they must not be allowed to become the face of the South.

In both Little Rock and Nashville, the citizens, white and colored, went about their business as usual. The stores had white and Negro customers. Traffic moved in the streets. One could not assume these peaceable white citizens approved of the Supreme Court decision. But they are American citizens and are law-abiding.

We saw demonstrated that mobs of from 500 to 1,000 out of a population of several hundred thousand have provided the headlines of violence. The great body of citizens, whatever their discontent, have lived by law.

Too often neat and impeccable men, occupying high, sound ground, withdrawing carefully from violence and, indeed, denouncing it, nonetheless have

reason to be ill at ease. Their words and deeds have pleased the mob.

The South has suffered an irreparable blow.

All the sympathy, all the respectable attention focused on the problem by the Southern Senate leadship in the civil rights debate, now has been blown down by the dynamite, the violence and the demonstrations of the mobs.

This Senate leadership succeeded, to a great extent, in persuading the nation their region would take a legal approach; that life and property and human rights were safe.

The men who mutilated an admittedly innocent Negro in Alabama merely to impress their fellow Klansmen; the dynamiters who blew down a $500,000 school building when the South needs more schools, not less; the disorder and violence of utterance in Little Rock—all these have become the face of the South.

And yet, the total number of those who have demonstrated and dynamited, is less than 2,500.

People do not like to be told the truth. Too much of the comment today is on the narrow basis of whether one is "for of against segregation." That is not at all the basic issue before us. The fact is that millions of Southerners who strongly support segregation and who would do all that is possible to retain it, are not willing to tear down the government with violence and anarchy. Another truth too often is concealed from the Southern people, who are as decent and law-abiding as any other. The rest of the nation is not sympathetic with, and does not approve of, the defiant and violent positions taken.

There are yet legal steps to be taken. They will be highly technical.

They have begun in Little Rock.

In Nashville, the local police are able to handle the 500-odd demonstrators. They have moved against the agitator John Kasper, who has been throwing raw meat to the mobs.

In Alabama, Ku Klux Klansmen are under arrest.

When the due processes of law are exhausted the decision must be accepted as law. As a civilized, Christian people we cannot live by the rule of dynamite.

Editors, governors, commentators, ministers—all those who speak out—will do well to remember the old text: "Be ill at ease when your words and deeds please the mob."

The face of the South must not be that of the mob.

"The idea, which originated we know not where, that Arkansas might vote to close their own schools, is pretty farfetched, to say the least. Such a move would accomplish so much that we who call this state our own would not want, that it should not even be considered."

—Northwest Arkansas Times.

Spirit of Democracy; Christian Principles

Little Rock
and
North Little Rock
Council of Church
Women

The Council of Church Women of Little Rock and North Little Rock in called session September 9, 1957 wish to go on record expressing our great concern over the situation which has developed in our communities.

We must say in the beginning that it is our Christian conviction that enforced segregation of any group of persons because of race, creed or color is a violation of Christian principals. The National and State bodies of the denominations which we represent are all on record with statements saying that the Supreme Court ruling regarding segregation in the public schols is in keeping with Christian principles. We reaffirm these statements of our denomination.

We believe in the right of dissent and the right of those persons who disagree to follow due process of law and order in efforts to change laws with which they disagree.

We believe it is the obligation of every citizen to uphold what is the law of the land, and that citizens of this State have a right to expect their elected officials to use their offices to carry out obedience to the supreme law of the land. We are shocked and dismayed that the Governor of our State has placed military troops within our community to defy the order of the Federal Court instead of upholding the law of the land. We feel the use of troops and the failure of these troops to disperse the curious and rabble-rousing crowds that have gathered at Central High School has produced tensions. This situation, we believe, would not have arisen had the Board of Directors of the Little Rock Public Schools been allowed to carry out their plans for compliance with the law of the land.

We deplore the unChristian acts of some of our citizens expressing hatred of others, which have made the head-

lines in reports around the world. We believe in the sincerity and goodwill of the majority of citizens of our communities. We are well aware that what is happening here effects the world mission of the Christian church and endangers the effectiveness of those who represent us in mission posts throughout the world. We want our Christian friends around the world to know that, as church women and Christian citizens, we want to take our share of the blame for failure to create a climate that would have made it impossible for such a situation to develop. Our experience in race relations in our communities in recent years, however, convinces us that, through many of our citizens may not desire de-segregated schools, they do believe in justice and right for all citizens, and in following a course of action that would be in keeping with the spirit of democracy of the Constitution of the United States, and with the principles of the Christian faith which we profess.

We call upon the Christian Citizens of our communities and of our State to join us in

(1) Praying to God the Father of us all to forgive us for our failure to live as children of one Father, and praying for His guidance and wisdom for us all, and especially for those on whom rests the responsibility for the solution of the immediate situation before us. We issue this call to prayer to all who will join us wherever they are at 12 noon Thursday, September 12 in a special time of prayer and meditation;

(2) In expressing our confidence in the support of the actions of the Board of directors and the administrators of the public schools of our communities in their efforts to comply with the law of the land;

(3) In treating every person as we would like to be treated;

(4) In refusing to be a party to any act, or word, or idle rumor which will give rise to tension between groups in our communities.

(5) In refusing to listen to persons seeking to arouse hatred and setting group against group.

"We believe that the Christian position in the matter of race relations include:

"1. Upholding the teaching and example of Church regarding the equal worth of all individuals, regardless of race, creed or state in life.

"2. Upholding the law of the land.

"3. Abstaining from and discouraging violence in the settlement of any difficulty."—Resolutions passed by delegates to the Arkansas Baptist Student Union representing 14 colleges.

Justice For Every Child

Little Rock Ministers

Sixteen Little Rock ministers issued a statement last night condemning Governor Orval Faubus' role in the school integration dispute and pleading for every citizen to pray for a "right example" for every child of the community. The statement said:

"We, the undersigned ministers of Little Rock, strongly protest the action of Governor Orval E. Faubus in calling out the armed forces of the state to surround Central High School, thereby preventing integration in compliance with the Supereme Court's decision of May 1954 and the order of the Federal Court of August 1957.

"We deplore: (1) the overriding of the authority of the local school administration; (2) the disregard of national law; (3) the abuse of the autonomy of the local school districts; (4) the policing of the great majority of law abiding youth of the city; (5) the exciting of racial tensions; (6) the reflections cast upon our local law enforcement officers; (7) the destruction of the respect of our citizens, young and old, for proper constitutional authority.

"We appeal to every citizen to unite with us in earnest prayer to God that justice will be brought about and a right example set for every child of our community."

Signed: Marion A. Boggs, Second Presbyterian Church: T. B. Hay, Pulaski Heights Presbyterian Church: Dunbar H. Ogden, Jr., Central Presbyterian Church: J. Cammel English, Asbury Methodist Church: J. Kenneth Shamblin, Pulaski Heights Methodist Church: J. Hodge Alves, Christ Episcopal Church: Charles A. Higgins, Trinity Episcopal Church: Dale Cowling, Second Baptist Church: Colbert S. Cartwright, Pulaski Heights Christian Church: Richard C. Jahn, Lutheran Church: Aubrey G. Walton, First Methodist Church: H. R. Holland, Henderson Methodist Church: James Major, Secretary of Town and Country, The Methodist Church: Charles Richards, St. Paul's Methodist Church: W. O. Vaught, Immanuel Baptist Church: and Harold Hicks, Pulaski Heights Baptist Church.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"There were no state or community builders in the crowd that had provoked this humiliation for the law-abiding majority of Little Rock citizens. . . . There were not builders, but wreckers. . . . Among the teenagers who joined the mob, there were no student body officers, no members of honor societies, no campus leaders of any kind. There were some who had not bothered to complete the high school advantages that had been offered to them, but who at the prospect of violence had suddenly become mortally concerned with the state of education in Little Rock Central High."

From an Editorial in the
ARKANSAS GAZETTE

• • •

". . . I am writing this in Athens (Greece), where the idea of freedom was first given shape. Despite centuries of tragic world history it is one of the great ideas that has survived in the world—that and the idea of the Jewish and Christian religions that all men are equal before their God. It will take more than the screams of the Little Rock crowd to drown out the validity of these ideas."

Max Lerner in the
NEW YORK POST

• • •

". . .. We know that the new Maryville (Tenn.) School Board will study the matter (of integation) in the light of full recognition that by law they must plan for integration in the not-too-distant future. They must not delay their planning but must in all good consciousness seek a method to achieve this end with the least possible confusion."

From an Editorial in
THE MARYVILLE-ALCOA DAILY TIMES

"Let us view these troops in the correct light. They are guardians of our freedom, which Russia hates, and a symbol of law and order—not here, the President said, to replace civil authority, but to deal with the mob spirit that defied it. Their strength is directed against lawlessness, not against the overwhelming majority of our law-abiding citizens."

From an Editorial in the
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT

• • •

"The course taken by Governor Faubus is tragic for the South as well as the Nation as a whole. It is a course which, if it were abetted and joined, would make moderation in the Federal approach to Southern problems almost impossible . . . This woeful prospect ought to concern all conscientous Southerners. If Governor Faubus persists in sowing this wind, he may reap a whirlwind for the South."

From an Editorial in
THE WASHINGTON POST

• • •

"Christian people should encourage their ministers to proclaim the truth of God, as they interpret it, even if this means advocating certain procedures which the people find difficult to accept. It is possible for people to curb or silence the messages of their ministers and then to discover that they themselves have been 'fighting against God.' . . . The trouble with some Christians is that they want to obey some things that Christ commands but not all, such as willingness to associate freely with people of other racial groups in educational, religious and cultural situations."

The Rev. Dunbar H. Ogden, Jr., Pastor
Central Church, Little Rock,
Quoted in PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK